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The more engrossing pastime of war, one is still happier to say, is now a thing of the past. The Orokaiva are a high-spirited and warlike people, and at no very distant date were frequently engaged in raiding, killing, and eating one another; and life in those times must have involved an anxiety, but also an alertness which are now entirely absent.

Nevertheless, the Orokaiva still loves the appearance of battle—perhaps more, indeed, than he ever loved its deadly realities. No sight is more typical of the people than that of the constantly recurring *esu*, sham-fight or hostile demonstration, with its charge and counter-charge, the forming in line of the warriors, crouched behind their shields and with spears in readiness. Such a demonstration is likely to occur whenever one group of clans enters the village of another, whether to accept hospitality or upon some business such as that of obtaining the bride-price of one of its daughters. On such an occasion one may always hear fierce harangues and altercations, the speaker running back and forth between the two parties, pausing before his auditors and brandishing his spear-point at their very throats. When he retires one of the opposite faction will assume the role of abuse and threatened violence. As a rule this will all pass off in friendliness unless perhaps some man lose his temper in earnest at the resuscitation of some especially bitter grievance, or as sometimes happens, the inflammatory taunts of an old woman, armed aggressively with her long quarterstaff, set the whole in a blaze. Then the sham fight turns into a real *mêlée* in which blows of spear and club are dealt with great freedom and received for the most part safely on the shield. But still the restraint of modern times will prevail. The village constable (unless he has forgotten his office in the heat of the moment and is already wielding a spear) dashes forward with his jangling handcuffs prepared to make an arrest—most likely no doubt on the side opposed to his own, the uproar dies away with nothing worse than a few cuts and bruises, and the business and hospitality of the day will even go on as if nothing had happened. Such friendly bouts as these are all that remain of the fighting days of the Orokaiva.

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586 in the open space of the village with shrill cries and shouts. The old man who has gone back to sit with his people, viz. those of the bridegroom, now springs to his feet and rushes upon Tembari with rage and indignation fairly flashing out of his eyes. The two performers in this very characteristic scene swerve and avoid one another with amazing skill. The old man is shouting that his wife did not cook for him nor look after his comfort and therefore deserved to be beaten. After one or two almost hair-raising dodges the two retire from the arena in the best of good humour, the old wife-beater's face covered with smiles.

The proceedings come to an end towards evening, when after a feast the several parties disperse. Neither bride nor bridegroom has borne a part of any importance. The former has for the most part been a spectator from a house verandah.

The martial demonstrations which have been described in the foregoing pages, especially the charge and counter-charge known as *esu*, are very commonly associated with the marriage payment, but they are by no means restricted to this occasion. Nor, on the other hand, is the marriage payment always accompanied by an *esu*. It is said that where villages are entirely friendly there will be no such seemingly hostile demonstration, and that the bridegroom's people may even take payment to the village of the bride. I do not know that the *esu* is ever performed at the acceptance of a *bi-dorobu*. The occasion above described is of course that of accepting an *a-dorobu*, or bride-price.

The Four Forms of Marriage

583 It remains to consider and compare the four forms of marriage, or the four methods of obtaining a mate, which were named in the beginning of the chapter. It will be understood that the following remarks refer to marriage as it obtains among the Orokaiva, and are not meant necessarily to apply to the usages of other primitive peoples.

583 Marriage by capture has been of very frequent occurrence. 72 It was the practice in cannibal raids to kill and eat the men 266 and the older women, but to make captives of any women who were sufficiently young and attractive. It is not to be

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197 and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the
619 same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality
619 to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with
721 various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another, for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction
● [266] —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances,
619 any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is
721 called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most
192 of the fighting described in the following chapter will be of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*, and although the friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

619 We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimita-
186 tion of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name. I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

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while doing little actual violence with their *poreba* or quarter-staffs, were very successfully inciting to violence with their tongues.

The *esu*, as I have said, is not associated invariably with a marriage payment. On the recent occasion of a death, when some clans gathered as mourners, they soon found themselves engaged in a hand-to-hand fight which resulted in one serious casualty. There is a semi-traditional account of a quarrel between two branches of the Koie-Bumana people who formerly inhabited a portion of the present Tain-Daware district. One party visiting the village of the other at a feast caused some amusement by their efforts at dancing. 'You are like cassowaries', said their hosts. 'And anyway, why have you come? There are no girls for you here.' The guests retorted that their hosts danced with the elegance of flying-foxes, and challenged them to a tug-of-war with a long rattan cane. This contest proving indecisive, the two parties seized their weapons and took to fighting in earnest, with the ultimate result that, weakened by their own quarrels, they were exterminated or driven out by the Tain-Daware.

There are many causes of inter-clan strife—the depredations of village pigs, the killing of a dog, the defilement of a water-supply, and frequently the suspicion of sorcery. But such quarrels lead to the *embogi*, which is usually more of a lusty sham fight than a struggle to the death; and only in the most exceptional cases do we hear of cannibalism. In the feud between the Aiga clans on the right and left banks of the Kumusi there was eating of corpses on both sides. But this was spoken of as a horrible thing, that speakers of one and the same language should eat each other.

The Tribal Raid

The tribal fight (*isoro*) probably involves an expedition in which a number of clans combine. The war signal—either for the alarm or the assembly, for both mean the same thing—is a fast-throbbing rhythm on the *hui*, called onomatopoeically '*kikiki*. . . .' (In these days of peace the same signal announces the arrival of a Government patrol,

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any ceremonial necessity, other than that implied by revenge, which demanded a cannibal raid.

Cannibalism

The reason for cannibalism itself has been given by natives as the simple desire for good food. Indeed, we might profitably seek to explain why some people are *not* cannibals rather than why some people are. Anthropologically speaking the fact that we ourselves should persist in a superstitious, or at least sentimental, prejudice against human flesh is more puzzling than the fact that the Orokaiva, a born hunter, should see fit to enjoy perfectly good meat when he gets it. The aversion from cannibalism within the tribe is presumably to be ascribed to the same sentimental reason which, with a wider scope, turns us against human flesh in general. It was the custom to eat all victims made in an *isoro*, and they were only abandoned when the fear of counter-attack made the raiders leave in too great a hurry to be encumbered, or, as some informants have said, when the victims were so old, scraggy, and wrinkled as to be not worth the carrying.

When the victorious raiders returned they announced their success from afar off by a distinctive rhythm on the *hui* which (according to Aiga informants) may be represented thus:

— — - —, — — - — —.

There were conventional songs proper to the occasion, such as (an Aiga example),

Eruga tuna kambaja-ont
Eruga leaf seasoning
Isuga tuna kambaja-ont
Isuga leaf seasoning

by which the women were given to understand that they should prepare 'cabbage' for the cooking; or (a Sangara example)

Umo tibu kiari-ta koiko-ta,

which indicated that the enemy had fled (*koiko*), anxious to see (*kiari*) the familiar place where they drew water (*umo*

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their villages and subjecting such prisoners and wounded men that fell into their hands to such fearful tortures that the Notus were panic-stricken, deserted their villages, and appealed to me for help.'[1] It seems probable, however, that this passage refers rather to mutilations than to an intentional infliction of pain, which, indeed, the oldest informants affirmed was never a feature of the raid.

Brought home by the raiders the corpse of the victim was set upright in the village, still attached to its pole. During the night there was dancing to the accompaniment of *hui* and drum—properly the largest and most old-fashioned of the drums, viz. the *ino*. In the morning the body was taken down to the stream and cut up in the running water, in order, as I was told, to wash away the blood. Various portions were distributed as they are in the case of a pig, and little odds and ends were given to the children, who played at roasting them in the fires.

It was formerly the custom, I understand, to set up skulls of victims on a *gaga* or small platform in the village, just as pig-jaws are to be seen nowadays ranged along a branch of an old croton scrub. The pig-jaws are mainly in the nature of trophies, though it is said that to throw them away and lose sight of them would have an ill effect on hunting thereafter. I cannot say what were the motives for keeping human skulls, but presumably the same reasons would hold good.

Tabus and Purification of the Slayer

The actual slayer abstained from eating any of the victim's body. This rule was rigidly observed, though no satisfactory reason could be given. It may be remarked that the owner of a pig never eats any part of it when it is presented to another at a feast and distributed. But this seems to be no more than a point of etiquette, and perhaps offers no parallel. Beaver, who lays stress on the fact that the slayer must not eat of the slain, adds: 'Small portions of the liver, ceremonially treated with symbolic herbs, may be *bitten* into by the actual killer;'[2] though of this he does not record any explanation. It is tempting to suggest that by this rite the

[1] *Annual Report*, 1902–3, p. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, 1918–19, p. 98.

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slayer is assimilating some of the courage and fierceness of his victim, though it must be remembered that the liver is regarded as the seat of fear as well as of these more warlike emotions, and, indeed, it is presumably by his very deficiency in these latter that the victim was unable to look after his liver.

The tabu on the flesh of the slain applies not only to the slayer but to his father, mother, and nearest relatives. If they were rash enough to partake, their genitalia would swell, their joints grow crooked, and their heads turn bald. (Though in the case of an old man, it was said that these results need not be feared.) In view of such alarming risks it seems likely that there was in the person of the slain something like infection to that of the slayer. Other details confirm this view. The Orokaiva has a lively dread of *baupeni* (or elephantiasis of the scrotum) and swelling of the joints—both of which afflictions are seen in the Division. The slayer immediately removed his *bo*, or perineal band, and wore a leaf or nothing until he reached home and could effect a change of clothing: this was a precaution against *baupeni*. If he had dispatched the victim with a club he would straightway change this for another man's: on no account would he *shoulder* the club that struck the fatal blow, for he would run a risk of a swollen or distorted shoulder-joint.

Again the slayer must perform certain rites and observe certain tabus. He must not drink pure water out of the river, but only that which has been stirred up and made muddy by the feet of a non-slayer. He must not eat taro cooked in the pot, but only that which has been roasted in the open fire. He must abstain from sexual intercourse. These restrictions lasted for a few days and then the slayer ate the same purificatory stew (*suna*) which is given to initiates at the end of their seclusion (see p. 193). Among the Binandele I witnessed a mock demonstration of a peculiar rite which immediately preceded the eating of the *suna*. The slayer climbs into a small tree which contains a nest of those large and aggressive insects commonly called 'green' ants. The tree should properly be of the kind called *Bobo*, which

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765 not more than thirty yards away. The reason given for the long seclusion of widowhood was the curious one of 'shame' (*meb*). The woman, it would appear from this explanation, cannot bear to face the people of the village; though I cannot believe that it is merely her grief which she is afraid of showing, for natives are not in the habit of hiding this emotion.

'Gorukari': Ending the Seclusion

The widow's seclusion comes to an end with a feast and a ceremony called *gorukari*. This, it will be remembered, marks the second stage in the cycle of mortuary ceremonies (*vide* p. 210).

765 628 When, in former times, the widow's husband had been slain by an enemy tribe, her seclusion must continue till a victim had been secured from that tribe; and it was the [266] corpse of this victim which constituted the *pièce de résistance* of the feast. She was compelled to remain in seclusion till revenge was satisfied. In the fable where a crocodile devours a man, his wife goes into seclusion immediately; but 765 when on the following day her son captures the crocodile and drags it to the house, she comes down, stands on the creature's body, and cries, 'Why did you take my man?'; and then the people dance the *kuru* dance, and her seclusion is over.

In peaceful modern times the victims would be unprocurable, and by the same token the necessity for them does not arise. The seclusion, therefore, is brought to an end when there is a suitable accumulation of food, and its duration is correspondingly variable. The feast on this occasion is called *pasu-jiuka*, lit. 'the counting of the mud', i.e. the reckoning by which the *pasu-embo* (p. 211) are paid for their efforts at the funeral. The people of the deceased husband provide the bulk of the provisions for this feast, but they are assisted by the people of the widow. All the mourners who paid the deceased the final compliment of bedaubing themselves with mud, of wailing, or of digging his grave, are invited to receive their 'payment'; but relatives on both husband's and wife's side will contribute. Apart, however,